167 /58 cont./ group regularly went back to the homeland, albeit only temporarily. Everywhere people gave as a reason for colonization the fact that it was easier to earn one's livelihood here than in the homeland. In two of the three kampongs, there were more men than women, a phenomenon which is to be regarded as normal (1) in the regions of colonization, where

1. See the table on p. 80 for figures.

the heavy work falls to the men.

Only a general tendency was observable for the period when most of the colonists had come. Men of approximately fifty years stated that they had come here first as young men, thus about 25 years before, initially often as seasonal workers, and that they had stayed to live here only later. Others gave their arrival as from 20 years to a year ago. My impression is that after a few pioneers had first arrived, large numbers of Makassarese began to migrate to the north around 1935. From the statements of a number of informants it appeared that their present-day place of residence was not their first, but that they had originally settled elsewhere after their departure from the homeland. It can be stated that, once people make one move, further migrations frequently follow.

167 563 The migrants did not possess an ornament: "That remained in Galesong," as they once put it. I did not see any saukang on the sawahs. People denied having little ancestral houses or offering bowls (2) in their houses. They gave as the reason

2. See pp. 86, 87.

for this the fact that the Buginese among whom they lived here were strict Moslems who did not care for such old-fashioned affairs.

563 582 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 583 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 563 184 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 563 621 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the common language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

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1:Chabot--80 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

	Total Number of Registered Houses	Total Number of Individuals	Men	Women	Festive Marriages	Silariang Marriages	Married Couple Related to Each Other	Married Couple Not Related to Each Other	Average Number of Individuals per House	Place of Origin	
										Galesong	7
Kape	25	133	80	53	27	1	19	9	5 1/3	Lebakkang	10
										Pangkadjene	4
										Maros	4
Langa	28	165	85	80	22	7	26	3	5. 9	Galesong	28
										Lebakkang	9
										Segeri	2
Paria	15	80	34	46	16	1	8	9	5 1/3	Pangkadjene	1
										Maros	2
										Djeneponto	1
Total 1949	68	378	199	179	65	9	53	21	5. 56		
Bontoramba 1948	129	787	382	405	105	27	104	28	6. 1		

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does
[557] not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14, 000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

667 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

665 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

563 4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
583 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
631 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations. It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

554 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
583 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
659 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
602

I
MI [359 cont.]
175 Company. An expedition was equipped to punish the sultan.
64 After a fierce battle in 1784 Riouw was conquered and the sultan
721 was forced to recognize the Netherlands administration as his
MI overlord, from whom he had his state in fee. The sultan's seat
[636] was transferred to Lingga, where it is today. In the beginning
the sultan retained his authority over Johore and Pahang. With
the Treaty of London of 1824, however, this was changed because
the Netherlands ceded all its territory on Malacca to England in
return for what England still held on Sumatra, namely, Benkulen.

I In 1830 a new treaty was concluded with the sultan of
MI Lingga, whereby monetary compensation for the loss of the two
648 territories (Johore and Pahang) was promised him.
636

The sovereign of Lingga bears the title of Jang dipertuwan besar or sultan of Lingga. He has his state in fee from the Government, which is authorized to depose him and to name his successor, who, however, must always belong to the ruling dynasty and insofar as possible be chosen by succession.

MI The sultan is assisted by a state administrator with the
MK 643 title Jang dipertuwan muda Riouw or Radja muda Riouw from the
645 dynasty of the Buginese princes. On these islands there are many
563 Buginese, whose settlement there [360] dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they supported the Sultan of Lingga in a war with Siak. In 1720 one of the Buginese commanders was appointed viceroy of the state by the sultan, and since that time this office has always been held by a Buginese. The viceroy is recommended by the sultan and appointed by the Government. He has his seat on the island of Penjingat or Maro near Riouw.

MI The viceroy is not only the general state-administrator,
643 but he also has supreme control of the islands between the coast
645 of Sumatra and Singapore Strait and Dempo Strait in the China Sea, that is, the Riouw group (Bintan, Batam, Bulan, Gampang, Galang or Galah, Chombal, Sugi) and the Karimun Islands (Great and Small Karimun). The viceroy seems to have had proprietory
MI rights over these islands. The sultan more directly governs the
636 Lingga group (Lingga, Singkep, Sebangka, Sadjuwa, and Temiang).
643

The sultan receives 35,000 guilders from the Government
651 in compensation for leases ceded to the country. Otherwise his
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563 I then asked whether there were other stores in the kampong. He said there were several, mostly belonging to Chinese. Rahim said the Chinese live in a few houses along one street. He pointed them out saying that the Chinese, or at least some of them, had been there for a long time and speak Makassarese well. But, though they marry Makassarese girls, the children of such marriages never do, but instead follow their fathers' line. Evidently they marry Chinese. Thus it appeared that the Chinese breed mates for their own folk by first mating or marrying with local girls. Rahim added that although Chinese men married Makassarese girls, Makassarese men never married Chinese girls. This is understandable, as there are no Chinese girls until the second generation. Then they are considered Chinese and marry Chinese. I must ask about the feeling toward the Chinese on various points. Rahim went to this kampong school, and then to an intermediate school in Makassar, and then, I suppose, to a higher school.

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123 As we left the store the lads asked if I would take them to
512 the mosque in my jeep. The old man especially said that it
562 was a long walk for him. Indeed it was so. In fact, I wondered if he would have done it if there had been no jeep. Four of them, including Rahim's father, piled in, and I took them to the mosque. This is Friday, and many people were walking in that direction. Rahim said that it was taboo for women, and there were no women going.

346 The mosque was quite a fine one, white, with (amazing!) an
177 old cremation urn at the top of one tower. Van Heekeren said this was usual. These urns were imported from China four to five hundred years ago, and were evidently used for ashes in Hindu days. But it is remarkable to me that one should be on top of a mosque!

285 I saw some very fine baskets in a store. One was varicolored with a round top which had words plaited in around the border. Perhaps I will buy it later.

342 Thus went the first day or at least the first morning. I will leave things alone for a while. And on Monday I will meet my assistant. My general impression of the houses in the kampong is one of a mixture. The good houses are built mainly of wood and thatch, but there are several of these which are poor and are falling down. Van Heekeren said that bamboo is scarce, hence the use of wood. And maybe that accounts for the lack of good repair in some cases. The people are pleasant and polite, I have been pleasantly impressed. I see very few women around here and wonder where they are. One sees many more in Java. And those one does see here, though often very fine, are not generally so handsome as the Javanese or Sundanese.

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

● 563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f. 80 per day. But he could make only f. 75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829

The camera, as usual, made quite an impression. In general, rapport was good, and I came back in the afternoon to give my assistant more paper. He drew a fine rough map of the kampong and is a very good man. But I need to have an expansion of many of his answers [to RK's questionnaire]. The trouble is that it is hard for me to read Malay. I have to get around it by having it translated into Dutch! 126 124

Balombaru, September 1, 1949. Second day: This time without Rahim. I have arranged, I think, to have a man type up Saleh's notes in Dutch. I got to the house at 8:30 A.M., and looked over some pages to give to the translator. The material consists of page after page of complete census data, house by house, giving age, occupation, family connections, and so forth. I can also check the material with the accompanying map. Saleh did a fine job; he is a remarkable fellow. Rahim says that although he went only as far as the lower school, he reads a lot and is interested in things in general. 124

First, I talked over the census with Saleh, his hadji father, his cousin's helper at gold work, and the old bearded sea captain carpenter. Then, after coffee we went off on a ride around the kampong following his good map. We went first to the cement factory, run by a Makassarese named Liyu who was once a poor man but learned a lot about business and has now become the richest individual in the village. He owns the cement factory. It is located near a river, where the big praus used to be able to sail in near the old market place (twenty-five years ago). The river here is now a wide, dry bed. In the distance is Gusungdjonga where Saleh's father lives. It is an island in the wet season. I noted the remnants of a bamboo bridge going across to the other side. It was standing one hundred years ago. The cement factory, with four big kiln chimneys in two buildings together with several other buildings, uses local lime rock and wood from the nearby woods. The rock is broken up and put into the blazing ovens at the top of the fire. It comes out as fine cement. Because of the great amount of road building going on now sales are way up. On the bank of the river are many big heaps of sand, and plenty of trucks to haul it away. Also, Saleh says that there are plenty of men working here. I took a photograph of the factory. Liyu's house, a big one, is situated nearby. 339 472

Then we went to the site of the old pasar, in the center of the village. On one side we noted a row of cement houses rented by the radja to Chinese, who can't own the land. Nor 563● 427

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
764 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the
782 Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
412 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
758 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

● 563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

565 The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
567 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pang-kadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Neverthe-
less, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes. i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
563 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
755 sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

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the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on.

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I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist.

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Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed

Bukaka, September 7, 1949. First day: I went to the house of the Kepala kampong and began going over the schedule with Andi and the teachers and a few of the boys. Andi has a big empty map on which he will work. He is scared of the census-taking so I told him to start on Bukaka proper in which there are more than a hundred houses. This should be a good sample. He is a slow worker. He said he was having much trouble getting the common people to speak. The Kepala kampong is cooperative and so are the teachers and a few others. But the rest say that they don't know. He is irritated and he said that the Bone people get scared of everything. He said that he did not know why. Perhaps it is the government, but no reason is sure. Later Thierens said that maybe this was because they were scared of Andi, who represents the radja class. I think perhaps he was right. It would have been better if I had got a common man from the kampong to do this job. We got a lot of probably only approximately accurate information regarding the population. 124

Evidently, few people leave per year and the population is relatively stable though seemingly on the increase numerically to a slight degree. Those who leave are mainly unmarried men. When they leave they go mostly to other places on Celebes. From this place there are no contract coolies and few sailors (compare this with Makassar and the kampongs near Makassar). Many of those who go away return as they say it is pleasanter and more pleasing to live in the kampong. They complain of the crowds of people outside. Also they can always get food here. (But this information is derived from the returnees, and perhaps those who have not returned would tell quite a different story.) Those who have returned to the village say that they have no trouble refitting into the kampong life. As for property and so forth, those who had it mostly had families and had left property with them while they were away. There is no noticeable resistance to anyone leaving the village. 166

The section on migration was really quite unsatisfactory. 167

As for immigration and information on visitors it appears that even fewer individuals have come into the kampong in the last fifty years. There are a few Chinese, Arabs, Toradja, as well as a very few Makassarese. There are also a few Javans. Family relations seem to be important in this respect. Very few people go away regularly, just as very few people visit regularly. Immigrants fit in easily if they are Mohammedan, but it takes a while. But the Toradja stay apart, as do the Chinese. Several Toradja work for Chinese. And 563

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
●563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

6661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
●563 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
161 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly
582 had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

463 So far as I can see, specialization is not strict but there is a tendency for sons to follow their father's trade.

426 They say that there are not many who have run up debts
465 with the Chinese. For the most part if it is necessary to
499 borrow some money the local people try to do it from some-
466 one in their own family (this is quite different from Java and elsewhere). There are perhaps one hundred men who work for wages. They work in offices, in stores, in schools, and some as common laborers. But most of the people do not work for wages. I asked, after Thierens told me that it was easy for them to get money if they were willing to work as coolies on roads, if this were true. Andi said that it was true only for the city. Road work on the roads in Bone is done by heerendienst which amounts to seven days' labor every three months. In Watumpone the laborers get 75 sen per day and this is not enough even for their food, so they won't work at
[435] it. They said that even in offices one might get only f. 30 per month, and one meal costs about f. 1. He was much concerned about wages and prices. I heard later from a tobacco man who was English that women work in drying sheds for 75 sen per day. They are asking for f. 1 per day.

563 As for the shops and stores, a few Buginese are shop-
443 keepers (as I remember, four), and the rest are Chinese. The
472 Kepala kampong owns a brick factory, and this is the only
433 manufacturing center in the area.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Third day: I went on with the
061 schedule. Concerning political life, a certain amount of discomfort was raised as a result of our discussion. Luckily only Andi and a close friend were present. Andi said that there was so much fear that it was impossible for them to discuss things openly. He said his friend was trustworthy, but that others might inform on him, and if he merely discussed Bone or Indonesia or especially the Republican politics he would lose his job. And he would probably be arrested. In other words any political discussion here regarding Indonesia means jail. The only things that might be discussed cautiously would be those concerning extra-Indonesian politics, for example, diplomatic relations, the United States, China, Russia, India, but even here one has to be careful.

208 Concerning communism, they said there is much propa-
068 ganda against it coming from Makassar, But especially strong propaganda against it comes from the Republic. They said that it is very effective because those responsible for it use the line that communism is against Mohammedanism; and this is sure to work here where Mohammedanism is the next most important thing to adat.

M 6065 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic l life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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M 602 171

● M T 582 ● 563 771

Makassar 066
Toradja 0811

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524.--Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764

Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actually regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves. M 567

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). M 565 851 582 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kampong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called "To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. M 563 T 186 167 191 177 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully. 582

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two M 764 174 [563]

Note that the Chinese may not buy land. All of them live in the stone (cement) houses beside the leveled market place. This is known as rumah sewa and is shown on the map. It is rented out by the radja. 563 425 342

The one Toradja is a woman married to a Chinaman.

Saleh pointed out that there are many cases of commoners using the title of daeng now. However, he has ignored them in this list of names because he knows that this is merely a pretension on their part. 162 565

C. Trade and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Goldsmith	30	19	1	-	-	50
Peddler-small trader	9	32	3	-	3	47
Merchant	2	2	-	-	-	13
Leather-worker	4	39	1	4	-	48
Smith	5	3	-	-	-	8
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Carpenter	1	4	-	-	-	5
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Roofer-thatcher	1	5	-	-	-	6
Coolie	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cycle-repair	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weaver	-	2	-	-	-	2
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kalker	-	1	-	-	-	1
Government	1	1	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Military	1	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Sandman	1	3	-	-	-	4
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Barber	-	1	-	-	-	1
Teamster	-	1	-	-	-	1
Laundryman	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
None	4	11	1	-	-	16